1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

592 571 and Cook. During the antagonism between the Miller and Cook settlements, Edwin visited both unconcernedly. At one time he assisted John Cook for several days in the making of a cassiri kanu, at another time he assisted Miller in the construction of a woodskin boat. In the meantime, he went about his own hunting and continued with the clearing of a field for his own exclusive use without apparently becoming embroiled in the disputes which engaged the attention of the Miller and Cook groups. Edwin's household, therefore, seems to be a unit to itself, friendly with all, but taking no sides in group rivalries. The blood ties of this household with that of Miller are apparently, as in the case of John, too remote to have much influence. Here again the personal factor seems to be present. Edwin is a man of the same age group as Miller and Cook; he feels capable of handling his affairs on the basis of age and experience, without the direction of either Miller or Cook. But, being easy-going by nature, he lacks qualities of leadership and responsibility which would draw about him a group of satellites, as has happened in the cases of Miller and Cook.

From our survey of household groupings the following factors affecting the organization of the settlement have emerged: personality, personal ability (including physical strength, mental alertness), blood relationship, and marriage relationship.

421 **Economic Factors in the Social Life.** The general rule regarding the ownership of property is strictly individualistic. A man owns his field, house, hunting and fishing equipment, canoes, ornaments, tools, raiment, and the game that he has bagged. A woman owns the implements which she uses in the field and house, the pottery, the basketry (which is made, however, by the men), her clothing, ornaments, and accessories. All personal property is held by individuals. Even children are the owners of ornaments, toys, and trinkets, and this ownership is respected by the elders, as I have discovered in acquiring specimens. In spite of individualism in ownership there is in fact a certain communism in practise. That is, members of the same household and settlement may borrow goods from each other with the owner's permission. Borrowing without permission is considered theft. (See Section on Crime and Punishment.) This communism of use means that the members of a larger household have a greater variety of goods at their command than the members of a small household, even though the

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

individual members of the respective households may be on essentially the same economic footing. 421

A survey of all the houses in Sawari was made in one day, and a catalogue compiled of articles found therein, in order to discover what inequalities of economic status existed in the community. The catalogue of articles found in certain of the houses is appended to give an idea of the typical possessions of the Sawari households. 422

Samuel's house

3 water gourds (calabashes)
8 clay pots
2 walishas
6 baskets
Powis feathers
6 hammocks (cotton); 1 hammock (maho)
8 cakes cassava bread
kakarelli leaves
about ¼ pound cotton
1 bunch bananas
1 wood bench
1 old cutlass
1 axe
1 bow
2 arrows
1 spindle
1 fan
1 cassava grater
1 cassava pan
1 hen, 4 chickens
7 necklaces and ornaments
1 cassava squeezer

Henry's (and Caroline's) house

1 akuri skin
4 clay pots
1 water gourd
2 cutlasses
1 stick of beeswax
4 fish hooks
1 walisha
2 cotton hammocks
1 cassava squeezer
1 cassava grater
Powis feathers
1 bow
4 arrows
1 trade knife
some cotton
1 spindle
1 wooden bench
4 necklaces and ornaments
1 cotton dress

Miller's house

1 cassiri kanu
6 large clay pots; 5 smaller clay pots
1 cane press
4 walishas
2 water gourds; 4 other calabashes
2 cassava squeezers
1 cassava pan
2 cassava sifters
1 drum
3 baskets
1 cassava grater
1 fan
8 cotton hammocks
2 maho hammocks
1 parrot
3 Spanish cadouris
6 fowls
1 small cannister containing mirror, box matches, 2 combs, about 3 yards red cotton cloth, one watch (broken), 2 green beer bottles, 2 empty tobacco tins (one ounce), 1 decorated maraka (medicine man's rattle), 4 steel needles, partly used spool black thread, 1 mouth organ

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

IV

MARKET OPPORTUNITIES: REGIONAL NETWORKS OF EXCHANGE

*179 438 439 Over time, the subsistence economy of the Upper Barama River Caribs has been supplemented by various regional markets. As a consequence, the common material exchanges that serve the Upper Barama River Caribs as a population have changed. An increasing [182] extralocal involvement in regional networks of exchange has been added to a local adaptation to the rain forest, and new resources have been made available to this population.

175 182 During Gillin's study in 1932-33, subsistence resources were derived primarily from the natural environment. The similar nature of the local adaptations of the Carib settlements dispersed along the [628] [938] Upper Barama River corridor has been discussed. There was no apparent basis for specialization and trade among settlements. Within each 175 settlement, material property was individually owned. A man owned his 421 clothing, field, house, hunting and fishing equipment, canoe, tools, and the game he caught (Gillin 1934:335). A woman owned her clothing, implements for working in the field and house, including pottery and basketry (although basketry was exclusively made by the men in their household). All tools were usually manufactured by the individual owning them or someone in their household. Within settlements, food [621] was distributed, tools were shared, and assistance rendered in the activities of making a living in the bush.

*177 438 24 [463] In the same manner, there is no basis for the differentiation of individuals in the Carib population on any sustained basis. Instead, the utility of external as well as local resources has remained in the immediacy of their availability to the local Carib population.

*177 438 Throughout the changes in the regional networks of exchange involving the Upper Barama River Carib population, some economic dimensions have remained unchanged. The nature of material property and its personal ownership are as Gillin describes them. A man owns his clothes, farm, house, hunting and fishing equipment and other tools, and the game he catches. A woman owns her clothes and tools for working on the farm and in the house. Nowadays, many commercial goods are among the property owned by men and women, and cash income has been used to obtain them. Although men's activities have changed to include employment and other market endeavors, women have remained in their domestic domain. Even though some Carib men have been separated from a subsistence relationship to the rain forest, they have not been separated from the household context which provides a male-female partnership for returning to and maintaining a subsistence in the bush. This continuity is apparent in the organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs to exploit the different resource situations.

*177 • 421

*177 462